1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

Hsin Hsing also has a number of very small family groupings; some are composed of several recently divided families and several are unrelated family units. Most of these have been unable to expand significantly and so have little effective organization or influence in village affairs. Some of these try to ally with a *tsu* organization whenever possible. This is especially true if they happen to bear the same surname as a village *tsu* but do not trace a common ancestor with it; under such circumstances they may even attempt to identify with and participate in some of the *tsu's* secular activities.

The latter means of attempting to relate to others forms the basis for still another kind of relationship found in Taiwan as well as on much of mainland China—a relationship formed by people who bear the same surname and with whom an original ancestor, often mythical, can be assumed but not actually demonstrated. In the Hsin Hsing area the relationships between such people do not carry any specific kinship terminology, except in so far as one might use a fictive kinship term to address another person who is older or of higher status. (But this would be strictly out of courtesy, and such kinship courtesy terms can be and often are used to show respect for any older villager.) All the people who bear the same surname but are not members of the same *tsu* are, however, lumped together under the heading *ch'in t'ang* (meaning relatives of the ancestral hall). All of these people therefore can be said to comprise what can be considered the largest exogamous unilateral group, which gives all of them at least the potential basis for the formation of a clan organization.

Still another kind of grouping of relatives are matrilateral, affinal relatives, or other people who recognize a relationship as a result of the adoption of a girl between their families. All of these people refer to each other as *ch'in ch'i*, literally meaning "relatives." Matrilateral and affinal relatives also have kinship terminology applied to them, but such words are always prefixed by a term indicating that the relationship is through a mother or wife and thus applied to an outside relative. However, the use of kinship terms for these relatives, especially for affinal female descendants, is not extended either vertically or horizontally as far as it is with patrilineal relatives. Therefore, neither mother's sister's children nor wife's sister's children have kinship terms applied to them; they are simply *ch'in ch'i*.

Of all the Hsin Hsing families, most of which are the conjugal type, about 81 percent bear one of four surnames—Huang, Shih, K'ang, or Shen—which in one way or another make up the several significant village *tsu*. The other 19 percent carry eight other surnames. Generally speaking, all family groupings which have the same surname and trace some degree of kinship through a common ancestor tend to live close

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together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

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each lives in its own section of the village. Hsin Hsing also contains two very small Shih households which are not related to each other nor to either of the Shih *tsu* organizations.

The families with the surname K'ang form three separate kinship groups (one of them is the second largest *tsu* in the village) plus a few isolated households. The large K'ang *tsu* occupies a compound made up of one very large extended house and a smaller structure and two other smaller buildings in other sections of the village. The other K'ang kinship groupings occupy their own compounds in other parts of the village. The K'ang households which are not members of any of the other kinship groupings in Hsin Hsing also live separately. One of these families actually traces a common ancestor with one of the smaller K'ang kinship groupings but because of internal conflict participates in none of its functions. One of the isolated K'ang families is headed by a man who was formerly the wealthiest landlord in the village; his predecessor, the old family head now deceased, was village mayor in Japanese times. The family moved into Hsin Hsing about thirty years ago from the small neighboring village of Lo T'se, where there is still a large K'ang *tsu* organization with which the Hsin Hsing landlord maintains close relations and in which his family continues to participate.

The majority of the Shen families comprise one *tsu*, and most of its members live in one corner of the village, although a few member families live in a single building in a different part of the village. One unrelated Shen family lives in still another part of the village.

Thus, various independent households in Hsin Hsing bear the same surnames as some village *tsu* organizations. On this basis they are considered *ch'in t'ang* (relatives of the ancestral hall) and therefore might at times be given some slight preferential treatment by the *tsu* with which they share a common surname. In this sense they might be treated somewhat differently from the families which bear the eight other village surnames and form unrelated households. But a number of village families have few or no patrilineal kinship relations within the village.

Tsu *Activities and Functions*

To accomplish their ultimate goal of benefiting their members through the organization's sociopolitical influence, the Hsin Hsing *tsu* perform a number of activities which help to provide the necessary group solidarity. And while they have not succeeded as completely as they might with more resources—for example, in population and wealth—*tsu* solidarity and members' total identification and loyalty are notably more complete than the villagers' greatly diminished solidarity and identification with the village itself as a community.

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Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.